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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to determine the extent to which conflict between home and career was experienced today by mothers who had returned to college. Subjects were married mothers, 53 from a community college (Group 1) and 109 from a state university (Group 2). A measure of home-career (H-C) conflict was developed for the study using four TAT-like narrative cues. Results indicated that story cues suggested negative consequences of various kinds to 41 percent of Group 1 and 43 percent of Group 2. Twenty percent of Group 1 and 17 percent of Group 2 responded with clinical "denial" to story cues presenting a women and child. Thirty-five percent of the continuing education women and 33 percent of the college women wrote stories which were neutral and reflected no conflict as long as they viewed the mother's activity outside the home as occasional. Only four percent of Group 1 and seven percent of Group 2 wrote stories reflecting a harmonious blending of work and family roles, with positive effects for other members of the family. It was concluded that findings indicate the existence of the discomfort experienced by married women returning to college, and suggest some content validity for the H-C measure developed. (Author/JH)

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CAREER AND FAMILY PRESENT CONFLICTING PRIORITIES FOR MARRIED WOMEN TODAY[1].

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by

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May, 1978

Running Head: Home-Career Conflict

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Career and Family Present Conflicting Priorities for

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which conflict between home and career was experienced today by mothers who had returned to college. Subjects were married mothers, 53 from a community college (Group 1) and 109 from a state university (Group 2). A measure of Home-Career (H-C) conflict was developed for the study using four TAT-like narrative cues. Inter-rater rescore reliability was .92 for three independent raters, suggesting some reliability for the measure. Results indicated that story cues suggested negative consequences of various kinds to 41 percent of Group 1 and 43 percent of Group 2. Twenty percent of Group 1 and 17 percent of Group 2 responded with clinical 'denial' to story cues presenting a woman and child. Thirty-five percent of the continuing education women, 33 percent of the college women wrote stories which were neutral and reflected no conflict as long as they viewed the mother's activity outside the home as occasional. Only four percent of Group 1, seven percent of Group 2 wrote stories reflecting a harmonious blending of work and family roles, with positive effects for other members of the family. The group difference for this category was significant ($p < .003$). These findings document the existence of the discomfort experienced by married women returning to college, and suggest some content validity for the H-C measure developed. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

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The cross-cultural finding that working women fill at least two major roles (i.e. homemaker and career woman) rather than one, has been documented repeatedly (Kievit, 197? ; Astin, Note 1; Darling, Note 2). Many working mothers were found to feel conflicted and guilty about neglecting both their children and their house (Matthews and Tiedeman, 1964; Morgan, 1962). Astin (1967) found women feel depressed and hassled by having to both work and maintain a home. Reducing conflict and guilt probably requires demythologising old myths about sex roles. Feeling less hassled and overworked probably requires more efficient planning and sharing by both partners in a marriage.

Current labor market statistics indicate that women born since 1936 are following a different work pattern to that followed by women born earlier in this century. Previously women (see Figure 1) tended to reduce their employment during the child rearing years. More recently women were found to maintain their employment participation rate, rather than drop out during the child rearing years. The facts are that today women spend more time, over the years, in employed work than in raising children (Hoffman, 1977). The husbands' traditional breadwinner role is now often shared with their wives. This situations has led to another in which men are sharing more of the parenting roles than previously, and liking it (Parke and Collmer,

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1975). Forty-three percent of women with preschool children were working in 1975 compared with only 13 percent in 1948. Of women with school age children, 59 percent were working in 1975 compared to 31 percent in 1948. These work participation rates suggest that Home-Career conflict is no longer being reduced by choosing home over career or vice versa (60% of all working women are married). Since this is the case it seemed useful to investigate the extent of Home-Career conflict in women today. If such conflict was found among a majority of women a next step would be the investigation of the effect of this conflict on family life and on work satisfaction and productivity.

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Insert Figure 1 about here.

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The purpose of the present study was to determine to what extent married women, students in higher education, were experiencing conflict between work and family roles. Although, ideally, the subject population would have been employed mothers the first stage of this study used subjects more readily available. Continuing education mothers were studied as a group of women who had children and at the same time had decided to return to school and continue their education. College undergraduate women, also mothers, were studied as a comparison group. An additional purpose of this study was to begin the development of a measure of Home-Career conflict

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(H-C) which could eventually be used to identify girls/women experiencing levels of conflict high enough to inhibit their productivity in either sphere (i.e. homemaking or work).

Effects of Combining Roles on the Home

Although social values have stressed the harm working mothers do to their children, recent research has discredited many of these effects (Hoffman, 1977). Hoffman reported that when both parents were employed they were found to encourage independence and achievement motivation in their daughters as well as in their sons. In contrast, in the home where only the father works, daughters were often coddled, and encouraged to be dependent. In a home where both parents work, they may provide role models to the children of persons who share and who value a range of roles for both sexes. Parke and Collmer (1975) have found in their research that more fathers today were playing an active and important role with their infants.

The effect of a woman's working on her husband's homemaking activities and morale has been less well documented. Studies (Astin & Bayer, 1972; Darling, Note 2; Poloma & Garland, 1971) have shown that women, on the average, continued to do about the same amount of work at home after returning to work as they did prior to working. Husbands, on the other hand, typically, did not increase the number of homemaking activities they engaged in following their wife's return to work. These comparisons were found to be true not only in the U.S. but also in studies conducted in Belgium, Canada, France and Japan (Darling, Note 2). Contrary findings by Hoffman (1977) and her associates suggest that when studies control for size of family, and age

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of children, working women were found to do less housework and their husbands were found to do more housework. Hoffman does not report that the division of labor at home was equal but rather, that there was a reallocation of tasks with the husband taking on some tasks usually done by the woman.

Studies reviewed indicated that working has a range of effects on a mother's personal life, and that of her immediate family. Sometimes these effects are negative, sometimes positive, although the latter are less well documented.

Effect of Combining Homemaking and Career on the Career Motivation of Women

A study by Farmer (Note 3) to investigate the relationship between Home-Career conflict and achievement and career motivation included measures of self-esteem, perceived community support for career goals, and career socialization. Results indicated that for college and continuing education women Home-Career conflict was reduced when they perceived support for their career goals in the immediate environment and from their family. College women's conflict scores were also inversely influenced by their level of self-esteem. An interesting finding in this study was that continuing education women who were highly motivated in relation to a career were characterized by high levels of Home-Career conflict as well. Whether or not this conflict affected these women's productivity in their career and their effectiveness at home is a question which needs investigation.

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A clue on how women handle Home-Career conflict is provided by the several patterns of career participation evidenced in today's society. Four of these patterns are described briefly below.

One type of woman resolves the dual pull of home and career by choosing a challenging career and foregoing having a family even though married. The latest statistics on this type indicates that about 5.8 percent of women were choosing this route in 1975 (Hoffman, 1977). Some women choose to have both a challenging career and a family. A third type chooses to marry and have a family but not be employed. A fourth type of women is married and has children but finds herself head of her home (that is she is either separated, divorced, or widowed). In this case the woman usually works because she has no choice, out of economic necessity. Some women find one or more of these types threatening to family unity. Employment for women, whether or not it is a threat to family unity, is a reality today. We need new ways to ensure family unity and psychological health within this reality.

The foregoing paragraphs presented the effect of combining homemaking and career on the career motivation of women. The discussion pointed to patterns of work participation for women which are less than ideal. For most women having a career means 'giving up' some valued aspect of her homemaking role. It is the rare woman who has found a way to combine homemaking and career in a harmonious manner.

Purpose

Given the evidence on the effect of a mother's working on her personal life, and on that of her children and husband, the purpose of the present

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study was to determine the extent to which conflict between home and career was experienced today by mothers who had returned to college.

Procedure

Subjects

Female subjects represented two groups, both born after 1936, from different educational levels. A state university in Illinois provided the site for the college undergraduate group (N=109 females). A community college in the same state provided the site for the continuing education group (N=53 females). The college sample had a mean age of 33, the continuing education sample 37. Women in both samples were married and mothers of children.

Measure

Since no measure of Home-Career conflict was available a new measure was developed. In 1974 Alper reported a Home-Career conflict TAT-like cue in an adapted fear of success measure. Alper had reasoned that the projective TAT format for the conflict measure was justified based on the partially subconscious quality of the conflict (see also Anastasi, 1976), and the controversial nature of the values being measured.

Four cues were developed for the Home-Career (H-C) conflict measure. Cues were intentionally ambiguous/neutral in relation to the type of work or homemaking described. Such ambiguous/neutral cues have been found to be more likely to elicit naturally-occurring concerns (i.e. conflict) in the respondent (McClelland, 1971). Cues were, however, representative of a range of situations both outside the home and in the home.

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Cues were:

1. Peggy is arriving home about dusk. A child of eight or nine can be seen inside the house.

2. Judy is arriving home in the middle of the afternoon wearing tennis shoes. A child is waiting for her.

3. Mary, a young woman, is sitting in a kitchen. A child is seated on a high chair. In the background something can be seen cooking on the stove (Alper, 1974).

4. Sally is waving goodbye to a man holding a baby.

A scoring manual was developed on the model of Horner, Tresmer, Berens and Watkins (Note 4). Scoring categories for this beginning stage of the development of the measure were broad in nature. Four categories[1] were used:

1. Negative consequences. When a story described negative feelings or events effecting any of the characters in the story it was scored for this thema.

2. Denial. When a story changed events described in the cue it was scored for denial. A story was also scored for denial when the central characters were depicted as something other than mother, child; or mother, child, father (see cue 4).

3. Neutral. When a story had neither positive nor negative affect nor denial thema, it was scored in the neutral category. This category was also called 'no conflict.'

4. Positive consequences. When a story described positive feelings or events effecting any of the characters in the story it was scored for this thema (counterindicative of conflict), provided the woman was both working and homemaking.

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[1]A previous pilot study had used three additional categories: i) direct expression of conflict; ii) instrumental activity away from home or work; and iii) instrumental activity toward home or work. None of the stories contained these categories.

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Inter-rater rescore reliability was .92 for three independent raters. Homogeniety of cue scores was computed for all possible cue combinations to determine if persons responded with more or less conflict thema to different cues. Over all four cues the correlation was .88. Correlations for cue combinations were: cues 1 and 2(r .89); cues 1 and 3(4 .56); cues 1 and 4(4 .57); cues 2 and 3(r .63); cues 2 and 4(r .63); cues 3 and 4(r .78).

Administration of the measure followed procedures used by Horner (1968) for her Fear-Of-Success measure. Subjects were told "you are going to see a series of verbal leads or cues and your task is to tell a story that is suggested by each cue. Try to imagine what is going on in each. Then tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation, what the people are thinking, and feeling, and what they will do." Subjects were told they had about four minutes to write a story for each of four cues. Subjects were encouraged to respond as quickly as possible, then measures were collected at the end of twenty minutes.

This measure was administered to females only. Since that time it has come to our attention that males too experience various levels of Home-Career conflict at times. Some men feel cheated out of spending time with their family. Others, would actually prefer their wives' roles. It would seem important therefore to develop a male form of this measure.

High school girls did not respond relevantly to this measure and hence, their scores were dropped from the analysis. High school stories told to the H-C cues tended to be more suitable for Playboy/Playgirl, and focused on heterosexual relationships. This finding suggests a different approach is needed to measure H-C in adolescents.

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Findings

Table 1 presents summary data for the continuing education women studied (N=53). The story cues suggested negative consequences of various kinds to 40.5 percent of these women when they thought about women combining home and work roles. Another 20 percent responded to the same story cues with what I have termed clinical denial. They rejected the mother child relationship and instead called the woman an aunt, grandmother or sister, and the child a neighbor child, niece or nephew. A large group, about 34.5 percent wrote stories which were neutral and reflected no conflict when they viewed the mother's activity outside the home as occasional (i.e. a special class, tennis, shopping, parttime work, etc.) or when they anticipated returning to work only after the children were grown up. About four percent wrote stories reflecting a harmonious blending of work and family roles with positive effects described for other members of the family. Table 1 also presents data for college undergraduate females. Differences

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Insert Table 1 about here.

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appear to be that these college women produced more positive effects. Statistical tests comparing these proportions (Glass & Stanley, 1970) indicated that this difference was significant ($p < .003$). Other differences observed between subject groups were small and were not tested for significance.

Tables 2-5 present randomly selected stories from each of the four categories outlined in the paragraph above for both continuing education and college women (two for each).

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Negative Consequences

The negative feelings expressed in stories were more than the typical feelings of annoyance associated with the tasks of living. Feelings were loneliness, guilt, resentment, and boredom. The fact that these feelings were expressed by somewhat more than forty percent of both groups of married women studied is an indication of the possible extent of these feelings in the larger population.

Table 2 presents four randomly selected stories for both subject groups in which negative consequences are described for some member of the family. In the first story the son resents the amount of time his mother spends away from home. In the second story the husband is aggravated that he has to watch the children while his wife works overtime. The wife in this story is presented as apologetic, the baby as upset. In the fourth story the mother is feeling guilty for not being home when her child needed her (i.e. had a fever).

Negative events or behaviors were described less often in subjects' stories. Story three presents a woman anticipating the negative consequences of her work: "What a mess the place (house) will be in when she (gets home)."

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Insert Table 2 about here.

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Denial

Twenty percent of the stories written by continuing education women contained denial themes, seventeen percent for college undergraduate married women. Stories were scored for denial when the main characters in the description were not depicted as having mother, father, child relationships. Denial relationships given were those of neice, nephew, grandfather, aunt, unknown or neighbor child and stranger. Some stories changed the facts given in the story cue. For example, one woman responded to the fourth cue (Sally is waving goodbye to a man holding a baby) by describing the man waving goodbye to Sally holding the baby. In another story (see Table 3, story two) a woman indicated that it was unthinkable to her that a mother would leave her child unattended, she preferred to view the woman in the story as an "older sister." In clinical terms denial themes represent a more subconscious conflict than stories with negative consequences. However, more empirical evidence is needed to determine the underlying meaning of the denial themes found.

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Insert Table 3 about here.

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Neutral Stories

Stories reflecting neither denial nor negative feelings and events were written by more than thirty percent of both groups of married women studied. Frequently these stories depicted the mothers engaged in some

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activity outside the home, but not full time work (see Table 4). Activities mentioned included taking a class, shopping, attending a PTA meeting and part-time employment. Some stories described the mothers as preparing to take a short vacation away from her family. It appears that for these women it is comfortable to think about engaging in activities outside the home when these are occasional rather than primary. This pattern for combining roles seems to be more accepted in our society today.

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Insert Table 4 about here.

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Positive Consequences: Combining Homemaking With a Career

In some ways the small number of stories depicting the positive consequences of combining home and career is disheartening. The significantly larger percentage found among the college women studied, compared with the continuing education women may reflect a positive trend in younger women. More data are needed on younger women to document the situation here.

Table 5 presents some stories in which no conflict is present and the women seem to have harmoniously combined mother, wife, homemaker, and career roles with positive side effects for other family members.

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Insert Table 5 about here.

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These stories often included side-benefits for husband and children, while at the same time depicting the woman as fulfilled when combining homemaker

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and career roles. Although the college sample produced more of this type of story, the details remain similar, when compared to stories produced by continuing education women.

Discussion

The finding that a large number of the women studied were only comfortable with the idea of a mother working after the children were grown up, or working part-time seems inconsistent with the trend in the past decade for more mothers of young children to continue in the workforce. As reported earlier in this paper 43 percent of mothers with preschool children were working in 1975, compared to 13 percent in 1948. At the beginning of this paper it was noted that the 'interrupted career' pattern for women, dominant from 1940-1965 had shifted in the last ten years to one of the 'continuous career' (see Figure 1). It is possible that the group of women studied present the older pattern represented by women born prior to 1936. However, the mean ages of the women studied (37, 33) indicates that on the average they were born after 1936. The age range of these women was, however, broader (25-55) perhaps influencing the large amount of conflict found.

Implications for Research

Research implications from this study are numerous. Clearly, employed women, more representative of the ethnic, and social class mix in America, need to be studied on the question of Home-Career conflict. Marital

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satisfaction as well as age and number of children should also be controlled in future studies. Other subject groups of interest would be unmarried women, married women without children, women in non-traditional careers (i.e. male dominated), and women in traditional careers. The measure could be adapted and validated for use with men to determine the extent to which conflict may be experienced by them as well.

Research focusing on refinement of the H-C measure is clearly indicated. An empirically derived scoring system based on a series of studies designed to arouse and isolate Home-Career conflict feelings in fantasy productions (i.e. stories) should lead to scoring more subtle story sequences than evidenced in the present study. Refining the cues used in the measure to reflect the optimum degree of ambiguity (Murstein, 1963) would also be desirable.

Given the evidence presented that Home-Career conflict exists for married women returned to college, studies could be designed which attempt to reduce this conflict. Women for such studies would have to be carefully prescreened to determine their pretreatment level of conflict. The measure developed for the study described in this paper might be useful in this regard. Government and private funding agencies should be encouraged to consider supporting a variety of research studies on women's discomfort and conflict when they return to college or employed work.

Implications for Practice

As we work toward equality for the sexes in America, and gain more evidence that Americans in general endorse 'equal rights' beliefs (Harris, 1978) we must ask for more than endorsement. The most deeply ingrained sex role stereotypes, namely, that a woman's place is first in the home and a man's is first in the marketplace continue to determine the behavior of both sexes. If we believe these stereotypes let's stop talking about equality for the sexes. If we don't believe them, we are faced with the uphill task of changing these very beliefs so radically that behavior itself is changed. Perhaps the heart of this question lies with whether or not these beliefs about different sex roles for men and women stem from biological differences or from social learning. Whether or not we settle that question we can point to different social values related to sex roles within different cultures (Ogbu, 1978; Berry, 1976) and infer that these differences are learned and therefore changeable.

Efforts to bring women and girls to a clearer awareness of the support society offers for their career goals might be a first step in reducing discomfort and conflict in relation to home and career. Providing information on changes in the employment patterns of women referred to earlier in this paper could be useful in this regard. Information on dual career couples could be shared including the innovative ways some couples are using to ensure equality in relation to their career development (Bryson et al, 1976). Information on alternative child care options and increases in the availability of quality child care (U.S. National Commission for

Unesco, 1976) would be critical. Salient, too, would be information on the effect of alternative child care arrangements on the psychological well-being of children (Wallston, 1973). Changes in the law which provide support for women's careers, relating to maternity leave, protective legislation, flexible work schedules (i.e. permanent part-time), equal educational, equal employment and pay legislation are important information for girls and women (Farmer and Backer, 1977). Dollard and Miller (1950) provided a model for conflict reduction which proposed either 1) reducing the attractiveness of one 'role' or 2) increasing the attractiveness of the other. Applying their idea to Home-Career conflict, one might well increase the attractiveness of a career for a woman by increasing the social sanctions relating to this role, and to the combining of home and career roles.

The challenge to society today is to help men and women achieve their full potential as persons in the multiple roles available to them, as husband/wife/father/mother, and worker. Most persons need help with planning efficiently for these roles. Ideally planning for multiple roles on the part of men and women begins early -- for example, in high school or even in grade school. Expectations established early in life can lead to productive discussion in health and social science classes among both boys and girls who can begin to think together about multiple role planning. They can talk about how both can share the parenting roles and the worker roles. Many men and women in college and in the community also need help with multiple role planning today and could benefit from community groups, churches, and educational institutions offering such assistance. BORN

FREE (Hansen, Note 5) is a project, funded by the Women's Educational Equity Act, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, aimed at developing sex free career socialization experiences from cradle to grave. Currently in a development state in the state of Minnesota, curricula, and programs will be available soon for use with parents, educators, and children.

Perhaps the most critical social need for policy makers to address at this time, relevant to optimizing women's career productivity and satisfaction, is the need for more quality infant and preschool child care facilities. In 1960 the number of spaces in licensed centers or family homes was 200,000. By 1976 that number had increased to 1,000,000 (U.S. National Commission for Unesco, 1976). However, the number of working mothers with preschool children is more than ten times the number of child care spaces available. Closing this gap is critical if our society is to reflect support for the working mother!

The trend for more women with children to work is clear and had been consistently on the rise since the turn of the century in the U.S. Some may wish to continue to view women as having primary responsibility for childrearing. This view doesn't take into account that most women during their lives will spend more time working than in parenting. Some may wish to continue to exclude men from childrearing and homemaking roles. This view doesn't take into account the growing number of men who have chosen freely to increase the amount of time they spend with their children and families. Equality, at its heart implies freedom to choose, not inflexible and separate roles for each sex. It is perhaps important to

state, at the risk of being redundant, that equality is not aimed at eliminating differences (i.e. producing sameness) but rather at equalizing life choices/and treatment by society and the law for both sexes.

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Table 1

Percent[c.] Continuing Education and College Women Giving Home-Career Conflict Themes in Stories Written to Narrative TAT-like Stimulus Cues

Theme	Cue[d.] 1		2		3		4		Overall Cues	
	CE[b.]	C[a.]	CE	C	CE	C	CE	C	CE	C
Negative Consequences	40	52	26	25	56	55	41	40	41	43
Denial	25	21	28	30	7	6	19	13	20	17
Neutral	30	21	45	39	34	36	33	35	35	33
Positive Consequences	5	6	0	6	2	3	7	11	4	7[e.]

a. C = College women; N = 109

b. CE = continuing education women; N = 53

c. Due to rounding error columns do not always add to 100%

d. Overall the correlation among cues was .88

e. College women wrote significantly more positive consequences stories ($p < .003$) compared to continuing education women.

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Table 2

Negative Consequences: Stories Derived from Home-Career Conflict Measure

Responses

cue	story
1 CE	Peggy is returning home after long day at work -- Peggy is me; the child is my son (five years from now). I have discovered satisfaction in my work - my child has accepted my commitment to my work, but resents the amount of time spent away from home. I am tired - I want to relax. My son is hungry - he wants me to prepare supper now. I will begin preparing supper.
4 CE	Sally is the child's mother, and her husband is holding the child, a little boy. Mary has a part-time job and her boss has asked her to come in for a few extra hours. She enjoys her work and needs the salary, so she feels she must accept. Her husband, who is self employed, returns home to watch the baby. The husband is somewhat aggravated, and Sally is very apologetic. The baby is upset because of all the rushing around and tension. Both do what they must but are uncomfortable about the impositions they've caused and they've been causing.
4 C	Sally is going to work and leaving Sue and her dad at home to take care of things. Sally has complained about boredom and her husband decides to trade jobs with her. Sally is thinking of what a mess the place will be in when she returns. She is also somewhat apprehensive about the new job. Sally will continue to work. Her husband will go back to work and they will hire someone to watch the baby and keep house.
3 C	Judy coming home from work. School nurse called. Said her child was sick and being taken home. Child has a fever - has a rash on abdomen. Judy is feeling guilty for not being home when child needed her. Wants to stay home with child. Judy will take leave of absence until child is over the measles. Wishes she could quit work all together.

CE: Continuing education females
C: College females

Table 3

Denial Themes: Stories Derived From Home-Career Conflict Measure Responses

cue	story
1 CE	Unknown child in house. Peggy wondering who he is. Finds out it is her nephew. Nephew is unhappy and has run away from home because of problems. Peggy is thinking about what she can do. Child wants to stay with her. Peggy will talk to parents and suggest they will go into family counseling. They do.
2 CE	Judy could be an older sister. If she is the mother who plays tennis, leaving "child" (unidentified as to age) unattended - that does happen . . . I disapprove. I prefer to pretend it is an older sister!!! Sister is taking tennis lessons. Child is waiting for older sister so she can play with her. Judy will talk with her sister and show her some tennis strokes she learned.
4 C	Sally's father is taking the baby for a week. Sally's father loves to play with baby. He comes over often just to play with him. Sally is glad her father is young enough and well enough to enjoy the grandchildren. Sally's father will live to see thirteen grandchildren and fourteen great grandchildren.
3	Mary is baby sitting for the child while the parents are at work. The child, who normally attends a child care center, cannot go today because she has been running a temperature. Mary is anxious for the parents to return. The child has asked repeatedly for her mother and father. The parents will return to comfort their child. If the illness continues one of the parents may stay home the next day.

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Table 4

Neutral Stories (No Conflict): Stories Derived From Home-Career Conflict

Measure Responses

cue	story
2 CE	Judy is mother - has been out playing tennis. Child 10-12, has been busy elsewhere. Regular pattern of 'do your own thing.' Judy cool off, check on child, share day. Child - someone to talk to, snack. Sit and chat, then go on to other things being sure to coordinate activities.
3 CE	Margaret and her mother are working the wooden puzzle. Margaret was having difficulty placing puzzle pieces and agrees she would like some help. Mother feels by doing this in the kitchen she can cook the pudding and help Margaret at the same time. Both will get done.
3 CE	Mary is mother feeding her small child while supper is cooking for her and her husband, who will be home after work. The day's work has been done and the child is hungry and the mother is getting ready for her husband to come home. The child is being satisfied by the food. The mother is satisfying the child and preparing to have a quiet supper with her husband. The husband will come home. They will eat supper and talk of the day's events. The child will be satisfied. They will be a family.
4 C	Sally is going back to work. Husband keeping child. Sally stayed home until child was three. Now she will work weekends as needed. Sally has a flexible schedule. She wants to have a part-time career but loves her baby and doesn't want him to feel ignored. Sally's job will work out OK.

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Table 5

Positive Consequences of Combining Roles: Stories Derived From Home-Career Conflict Measure Responses

cue	story
1 CE	Peggy is returning from work. The child inside the house is one of her children. Peggy has been working since the child started school. The older children in this family watch out for this child after school. Peggy is glad to be home and the children are glad to see her. Everyone, including husband (father), is anxious to share what happened in his/her day. They will continue to be supportive of each other's individual roles -- whether work, school, etc.
4 CE	Sally is going to work - her husband is keeping their child. They each have flexible employment which permits them to share child care. Sally looks forward to her work day. The father and child will enjoy being together at home. They will continue as they are.
4 C	Sally is a registered nurse, and has returned to work to support the family while her husband stays home to try his pen at free lance writing. At the time of their child's birth Sally's husband went to work in a factory. However, his desire to write remained. The husband hopes that his wife's day will not be too rigorous. He has several ideas to explore for his next short story. He will be able to write and find recognition and at the same time he will be close to his daughter and give her a good perception of a masculine influence.
3 C	Mary is mother fixing lunch. Child - son - 8 months. Today is Mary's day off. She works full time. Mary is happy - wants to make day as good as possible. Son will eat - they will play he will sleep then Mary can read.

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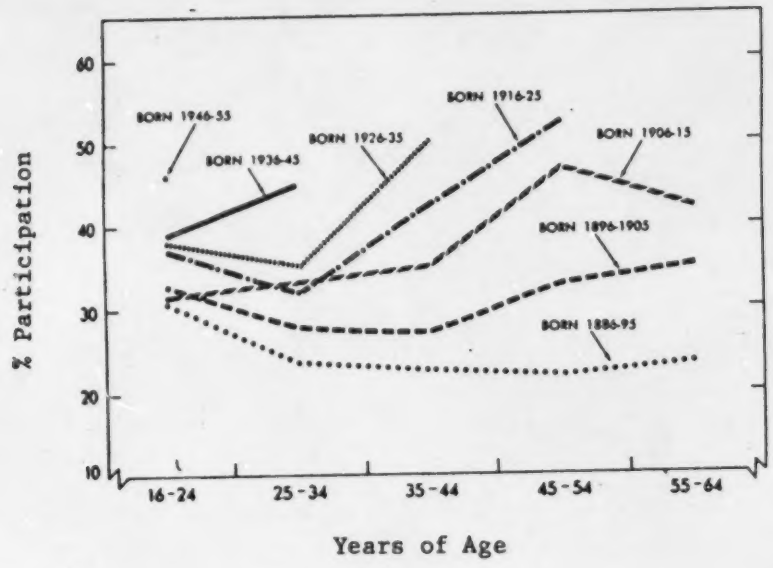

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Figure Caption

Figure 1: Labor force participation of women over a working life of groups of women born in selected time intervals, 1886-1955 (U.S. Council of Economic Advisors, 1973. For women born between 1886 and 1915, the first age plotted is 14-24 years. Cohorts reach each age interval according to the midpoint of their birth years. Thus, the cohort born 1886-95 reached ages 25-34 in 1920 and ages 55-64 in 1950; the cohort born 1916-25 reached ages 25-34 in 1950 and ages 45-54 in 1970).

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